1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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Fantan was obviously distressed by the situation but insisted on working with me each day, saying there was nothing he could do at home. When finally wailing was heard from the direction of his house, he knew the child had died. He went home immediately, but it was not considered good form for him to enter the house crowded with wailing women. At last a neighbor went in, took the dead child from its mother's arms, and hurried off alone to bury it in a near-by field. At this point Fantan put his head down on his knees and broke out into hard dry sobs, which he tried to suppress. Weeping is considered unmanly by the culture and therefore he had less outlet than his wife, of whom wailing was expected. Characteristically enough, however, Fantan was able to transform his grief into anger almost immediately, for at that moment a friend arrived to report that his brother-in-law had just killed one of his penned pigs in order to force him to give a death feast, an expense quite unwarranted for so young a child. Fantan said as he started toward his pigpen, "I have had enough expenses. Why should my brother-in-law kill my pig, since he didn't even come to be with his sister when her child died?"

[115] [593] [674] [764] [115] [152] [607]

DESCENT FROM THE HOUSE

Four to six days after the birth the first descent of the mother and child into the outside world is marked by a trivial ceremony in which a few neighboring kinswomen may assist. The maternal grandmother, or some surrogate, plants sweet potatoes and piles stones near the house verandah. The plants and stones may be represented by weeds and pebbles. By this act she releases both the mother and the father from the restrictions on vigorous labor. A few other precautionary measures may be taken, all within the range of sympathetic magic. The mother then leaves the house and is bathed for the first time since giving birth. Tubsful of water are poured over her back, arms, and legs. That afternoon the father gives a small feast to repay the wife's kin for their contributions and services. For a few more days the mother is inclined to stay near the house and perform only the easier household tasks.

[846]

The descent from the house marks the beginning of a wider diet for the child. At this time premasticated roasted bananas and vegetable gruels are added to breast feeding. The gruel is poured into the mouth from a coconut-shell spoon. The premasticated bananas are given the infant either with the hand or directly from the adult's mouth.

[353]

At this time, too, the infant's contacts expand. He begins to be a center of interest and is passed from hand to hand. Everyone seems entranced by small babies and many people will ask to hold and fondle

[354]

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Food,
however, does remain throughout life a focus of intensity, as subse- 152
quent material will demonstrate.* In this connection, a free play episode in which Padafan was the center is revealing. I had brought out to the dance place several balloons, which delighted the children. Padafan, being so small, was pushed repeatedly to the edge of the crowd that clustered around me, but each time he persistently pushed his way in again and held out his hand, saying, "Give, give," as I had seen him do often in connection with food. I gave him a balloon but the older children snatched it from him. Finally I gave him another, a cat-faced balloon, and told the group that this one was for Padafan alone. They stood back in a circle to watch.

After turning the balloon in his hands for a few minutes Padafan discovered the two conical projections that formed its ears. Immediately he thrust one in his mouth and began to nurse. The older children burst into excited laughter, saying, "He is nursing" (*bebuibe;* literally, he drinks of it). Padafan, slightly abashed by the uproar, withdrew the balloon from his mouth, whereupon the children redoubled their shouts, urging him to continue sucking.

After approximately a minute the somewhat shyer Awoonsai, who 153
was Padafan's age, joined the group. I took the balloon from Padafan and gave it to Awoonsai, who did not suck on it, despite the urging of the older children. Padafan's reaction at this point was interesting. He made no effort to get the plaything back, but threw himself on the ground, where he screamed with rage. Finally I recovered the balloon and gave it to him. For a minute or two he refused to accept it and went on raging. Only when he saw that no one else was taking it and that it lay on the ground within reach, did he roll over, pick it up, and begin once more to suck on it. Strangely enough, when the balloon burst in his face a few moments later, Padafan looked greatly surprised but did not cry or protest.

In view of the picture I have drawn of food difficulties and weaning 153
as they might be interpreted in terms of current psychological theories, one might expect a good deal of finger sucking during this period. Actually it does not seem any more prevalent, if as prevalent, as it is among ourselves. It is to be observed only occasionally for any one child and is far from common to all children. When it does occur, it consists both of thumb sucking and of thrusting the first two or three fingers of the hand, palm downward, deep into the mouth. It is a habit

* A nice, although trivial, illustration is that the natives named my repeating revolver, with whose lethal qualities they were quite familiar, "the gun with six mouths."

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matter-of-fact rather than punishing—unless, of course, the child rebels at this experience, has a tantrum, and annoys the parent. Bathing, however, does not occur very frequently in most households, certainly not more often than every two or three days.

[[47]] In addition to normal discomforts, yaws, which are so prevalent in childhood, may present an aggravating factor that makes a bath a painful experience. In the early stage of the disease the body, including often the lips and the genitals, may be covered with lesions, which smart acutely in contact with water. Children with yaws will scream [[52]] with pain and rage when they are bathed. However, since all sorts of infections may set in and since there is a puny discharge from the lesions, parents usually feel it necessary to keep the child clean. To make matters worse, in recent years some parents have been buying from [[57]] Chinese traders on the coast a caustic powder, which they apply to the wounds to dry them. There can be no doubt that the application of this medicine causes extreme pain, and since it is put on after bathing, there must be in the minds of many children an association between baths and the intense pain inflicted by the mothers.

152. Fuifani, a little girl of about five, was a case in point. For weeks she 155 had been having rages of hysterical intensity in connection with baths 165 and the caustic treatment of her yaws. The attacks would set in before the mother began to wash her and continued often for twenty minutes, by actual timing, after the bath. They usually subsided only when she was in a state of complete physical exhaustion. During the rages she would scream, strike at her mother, and jump up and down. After the bath she would refuse to allow her mother to comfort her. Strangely enough she made no effort to run away, perhaps because she realized the futility of doing so.

153 Some weeks later the doctor from the coast visited the mountains, 165 and Fuifani was given an injection that healed her wounds within about seven days. However, the tantrums associated with bathing continued for weeks after her sores were healed. On one occasion she raged half an hour after the end of the bath. Her mother held her while a man poured the water on her as though it were all a fine game. When the child was clean, the mother put her to dry on the verandah of a guesthouse, where she rolled about screaming, kicking, striking out, and banging her head on the floor. Another man passed by and threatened to pour more water on her if she didn't stop, a threat that had no effect and which he did not carry out.

165 Another child, who had been calmer about his bath, was brought up to shame Fuifani into silence. This too had no effect. Her small brother

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of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceed- 145
ing, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fulfuni had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home, but Fulfuni broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little playmate of about eight began poking Fulfuni gently and playfully, but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her face.

Even where yaws do not make the bath painful, children who are 152
still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all 155
day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making for discomfort is that the women have exceedingly calloused hands and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rubbing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any very painful case, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to the treatment.

SEX

Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined 164
to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are commonly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted with sex experiences, at this time is completely accessible to children, since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no attempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Although I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close 155
physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the last 157
born, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular habits of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and goes up

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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sounds to sleep with him. When a young man ties up his long hair and walks with bells on his loincloth, women watch until he has passed by, and then they say, "Isn't that a fine man!" and begin to love. If he wears a big white shirt from the coast, women will say, "There goes my white chicken!" and then they love. The young man feels glad but also a little ashamed. Also, when a young man begins to vomit at a dance and his voice rings out clear and strong, the next day the women will say, "Don't we have a fine man in our village!" and then they will love. When there is a dance, the young man will have far more and hard the day before so as to fill up his loincloth. When he reaches the dance place on the night of the dance, all the young women will crowd around him and hold out their hands for cowrie. If one woman comes back again and again for more cowrie, it is a sign that they already want each other, and soon they will go off and make an agreement. Then the girl says he must go find her bride-price."

The commonest sex, better than any outsider could, the pressure of masculine vanity, which often persists through life and which is recognized as a male trait. Consistent with this newly developed arrogance, other changes occur in young man's love. In the course of a few months they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and exclusive. They endure the imbalance of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them. The whole question of entering financial activities will be discussed presently in connection with marriage.

One significant detail concerning food should be noted in connection with the coming of age in boys. The pictures so far of the development of masculine vanity and the good-natured teasing that is involved is thoroughly familiar to us. There is another and comparable source of teasing. Boys who are beginning to show open interest in girls and to visit the villages of opposite sex find attractive will be teased by older people with comments like the following, "Pedome has gone to visit his wife in Kwiate. When boys grow up, the food their mother cooks no longer tastes good. They have to go to the house of a young woman to eat." This kind of teasing makes the younger boys squirm with embarrassment much as it would in our society. A few years later a young man will insist on a middling meal, even if he has to cook it himself, as a symbol of the adult status he is struggling to acquire. The extent to which food and cooking ideas can be linked is also exemplified in the follow-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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ing instance. Langwai, who was courting Kokwai by helping her with the storage of her harvest, suggested that they had better marry, by saying, "Who will eat this corn I am stacking? I had better come and eat it myself."

TOOTH BLACKENING

It is during this period of adolescence that both boys and girls have their teeth blackened and filed. Again the matter is optional, but almost shiny black teeth are much admired and long uneven ones are considered very ugly, practically every young person has his blackened and probably had have them filed. The process is more or less in the nature of a prolonged picnic, free from adult supervision. It is without doubt also a period of losses for many of the young people, although adults vigorously contradicted my phrasing it so.

The best indication of the sexual liberty current at this time is that strict parents forbid their daughters to remain in sparse field houses overnight and insist upon their staying at home or sent by in the house of some responsible older kin. Further, when I visited such a group one evening at sundown just as the strips of dye were being passed out, the young man in charge of procuring and mixing the paste used to darken the teeth said merely to the children, "Now, no intercourse tonight" — a comment that produced a ripple of giggling among the boys and girls.

The actual procedure is as follows: In July or August some young unmarried man, perhaps in his early twenties, announces that he will blacken teeth for the children of the community and designates the field house where it will be done. This is the dark season agriculturally, so that girls can be spared from the fields. He purchases from some friend in the village of Bukwabuwog a particular type of soil found there. This investment rarely exceeds five cents. With the earth he mixes a fruit resembling a small green fig. The resulting paste is smeared on a strip of banana bark which each child uses to fit the size of his mouth. The preparation of each day's supply takes the better part of an afternoon. For at least seven nights, and often ten, the children sleep together in a field house, with the paste held against their teeth by the flexible bark strips. During the day boys assiduously hunt rats, and girls go to their fields to collect vegetable foods. The children all eat together, being careful to place small bits of food for bark in their mouths in order not to spoil the dye. With the same objective a length of thin bamboo is used as a drinking tube during the period. Surplus rats are smoked to preserve them for a feast on the last day.

The whole procedure reminds one very much of "playing house." It is a carefree time for all the young people. There are no taboos sur-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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177 cent, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
178 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more
remote affinal relatives.

182 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelangar lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

184 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that
185 help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dirkat*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdema*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary leaps and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually becomes so apologetic.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance connotes really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from
186 the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in cases of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because [372]
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's [489]
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three [571]
or four days later. [627]

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, [622]
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He [575]
then took her head to his wife's village of Atiembang, where it was ac- [627]
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some
years earlier by Pasqoni. Incidentally, the murder of a friend's kin to ap-
pease official kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, al-
though I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a
troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157
there is a case in which a murderer was told by kin that they would take
his head and spill it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of [152]
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that re- [152]
spected family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group
responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of
territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incal-
culable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person
committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpeh'i autobiography
contains the sentence, "The elder people all increased us about fighting
and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as
though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a [221]
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by [224]
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk.
There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare
in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids be-
fore Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in
the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered
a period of about thirty years.

1. Mamimbiba of Kerwi killed Morlaba of Lawuika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lemmeni, a young girl of Lawuika, was kidnapped by Pukhakbli of Atiembang and sold to a man in Kerwi, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Pukhakbli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lempada of Kakbberka was killed by Kakbmou of Dikimpe at the instigation of Pukmoni of Lawuika. Pukmoni was the father of victim no. 2. Kakbmou was Pukmoni's friend and was paid for getting Law-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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[55] my eldest kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
423 his bride-price for him."

153 In discussing this conversation later, Fanuon remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and makes and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lamauni was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

[57] 712 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and makes, such as the one described for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another persistent opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

[58] The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

[47]

CONCLUSIONS

[55] 156 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth, but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
[55] engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hypothesis. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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individual. There is no room for sentimentality but there is every opportunity for expediency. Aside from external pressures for the maintenance of social equilibrium, the only internal barriers that prevent Arisuhangers from being a group of utterly ruthless individualists is the fact that there has been no building up of self-assurance comparable to the demands for biting self-reliance. 152 ● 156

A member of a culture can always express far better than any outsider the essence of native attitudes. Communing with his familiar spirit one night Malekula was instructed by this projection of himself in the following words, "If you don't hurry and take what you find, it disappears. It does not really disappear, but people hide it."

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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764 stench of the body. Delays are usually caused by financial dickerings between kinsmen and the Male Hosts.

Once the actual burial gets under way there is an outburst of wailing and a din of human grunts. This lasts for the half-hour or so it takes four or six bearers to dig the grave, flex and wrap the corpse, and toss it hastily into the grave, which they fill rapidly. The whole procedure is carried out in an atmosphere of excited tension. Burials accompanied by large financial displays are among the rare events from which children are chased away (often quite ineffectually) because such displays are considered something deleterious and contaminating. When the body is dropped into the grave, the spouse, standing off at some distance, chops a string in two. This symbolically severs their relationship and prevents the ghost's returning for him. The rite, however, is not immediately reassuring since for two or three months after burial the spouse will still carry an unsheathed knife wherever he goes. "They do this until they forget" — which is a measure, perhaps, of the duration of grief.

757 I do not wish to imply that there is no grief, or even that it is slight.
769 I have seen genuine and undoubtedly deeply felt grief at death, but my
571 impression, gathered from a considerable range of material, is in agreement with that from quite other realms of human relationship — that there is no premium on cherishing sentimental ties once they are irrelevant. Expediency and realism are the determinants. People will be concerned over the illness of a kinsman but, once he is dead, they go on to other things. A woman, well-liked in the community, died and her "sisters" wept two hours for her, but then became engrossed in other duties. A mother who lost her third infant in succession was deeply grieved but in twenty-four hours was preoccupied once more by her quarrels with her husband and by her field work. When I bought the crop of the field on which my house was to be built, the woman who owned the field wept. A year later I had the opportunity to ask her about it, and she said in a matter-of-fact fashion, "My twelve-year-old daughter planted that field, and she died just two or three months before you came. When I saw her crop being pulled up, my heart remembered and I cried. But now I don't think of it any more." The expediency and realism in human relationships is basically a shallowness of positive affect.

Balanced against this, enough has been said in other connections to make it clear that the dead are sources of malignant power, i.e., negative
● [52] affect. That death fears may be delayed so long is perhaps a sign that negative affect is also shallow. Certainly by comparison with some

2: DeBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 GPS Also GPS

The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and acquisitive distrust. It has at its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The corrective idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not guaranteed to the child. But that rage is an institutional response is learned at very tender years during the first decade of life.

While the child is discovering the fallacy of parents, he is also discovering his own resources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the field play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usually spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too extensive or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children eating garden crops was freely is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Ishongaro, in his autobiography, gives several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.

Mosimulo said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Mosimulo said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of limiting misdeeds one of the marked transcultural tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very soon learn to stretch themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way unobtrusively learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another